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Johnson's Dilemma

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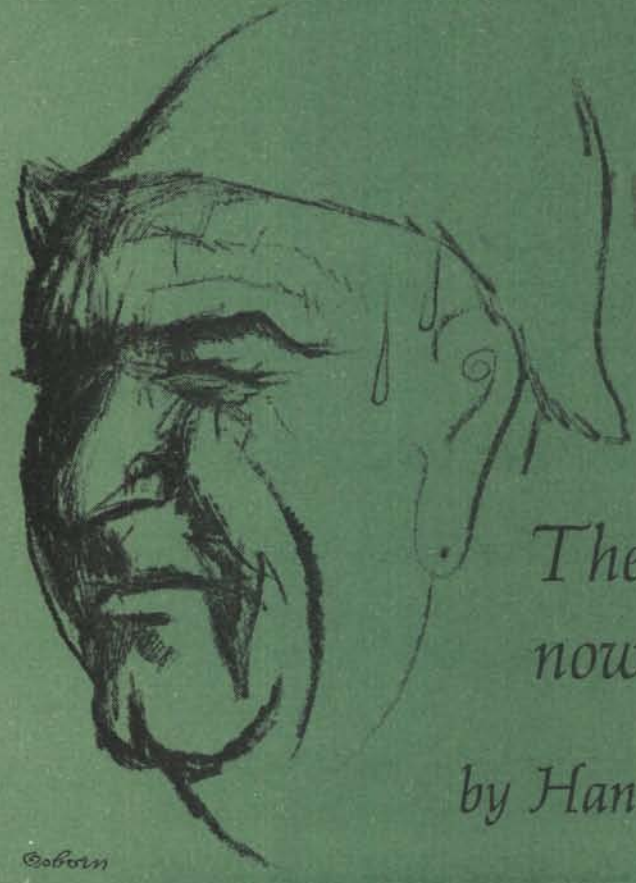

The alternatives now in Vietnam

by Hans J. Morgenthau

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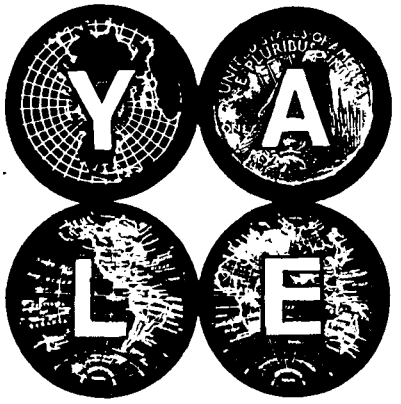

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

The Acheson Myth

★ Style is back in style. Dean Acheson is back in fashion. And the time has come to dissipate an old myth that has affected American foreign policy since 1950. That is when the late Senator McCarthy began a campaign to "rid the State Department of Communists." It centered perforce on Acheson, who was then Secretary of State and had declared he did "not intend to turn my back on Alger Hiss" when Hiss was convicted in January, 1950, of having perjured himself in denying that he worked for a Soviet espionage apparatus while he was a State Department official.

As became an Episcopal bishop's son, Acheson had invoked the spirit of Christ's Sermon on the Mount in justification of his stand. But that was brushed aside by many of the Democratic as well as Republican products of Christian-Judaic civilization then sitting in Congress. The late Senator Bridges took to calling him "The Red Dean" and, with other Republicans, to blaming him for "our loss of China" and "Truman's war" in Korea. Out of it all grew a myth that Acheson always had been unpopular with Congress, a myth espoused by the late John Foster Dulles who, as Acheson's Republican successor, set himself to getting along with Congress at any cost and with results still evident in relations between the Department of State and the Capitol.

In fact, Acheson, the real inventor of the Marshall plan and, with David Lilienthal, of what came to be called the Baruch plan for atomic disarmament, had been notably successful in dealing with congressmen. That is, he had been until Republicans, sensing a chance of victory at the polls in 1952, looked around for a safer target than Truman himself and hit upon Acheson.

His success up to that point in dealing with the federal legislators dated from February, 1941, when he had rejoined the Roosevelt Administration as an assistant secretary of state. It was not only notable but surprising to those who, unaware of the Elizabethan earthiness Acheson displays in private, viewed him from afar as a haughty patrician certain to irritate congressional champions of the common man. Alistair Cooke, likening Acheson to a Spanish grandee by Velasquez, showed only an unfamiliarity with well-bred Connecticut Yankees akin to that of lesser newsmen here who ascribed to Acheson a "British accent."

Acheson enjoyed a brief respite from partisan denigration in September, 1951, when he presided at the Japanese peace conference in San Francisco. But with the Truman Administration's end in January, 1953, he went into automatic eclipse. But now the greatest stylist among contemporary American statesmen is back in the spotlight here after a lapse of 13 years and, oddly enough, owes his recrudescence to that other great stylist, General de Gaulle.

When France's President began moving forthrightly a few months ago to dismantle NATO, another of Acheson's inventions, President Johnson called Acheson, now 73, back into service to help guide his "Save NATO" operations, and there were cheers all around.

Back from Eclipse

★ On the Hill, Republicans as well as Democrats welcomed him, and newsmen also rejoiced. James Reston, for example, hailed Acheson as "the most vivid personality in Washington today outside of the Big Man himself" and "the most active, interesting and pugnacious character in town – a poet among the mechanics, a believer among the skeptics, and almost the last of our contemporaries who believes that history and power have a future."

Reston was perhaps referring in that last to Acheson's discourse on the nature of power in an April, 1965, speech that also contained a characteristic thrust at de Gaulle, and what now reads like an anticipatory rebuttal to Senator Fulbright's more recent laments about the "arrogance of power" he sees suffusing American foreign policy.

Americans had been brought up to think, like Lord Acton, of power as "the instrument of corruption," Acheson said, but had "learned in a rough school the importance of power, its nature and its limitations; two wars, and our behavior between them, made clear its importance."

"Its composition, we learned from having to produce it again after 1940," he continued, adding: "The formula calls for population, resources, technology and will. Napoleon rated the importance of the last element to all the others at a ratio of three to one. His successor, General de Gaulle, by substituting will for all the others, seeks to create an illusion of power."

And Now Rumania

★ Acheson has not yet had occasion to pass judgment on de Gaulle's Rumanian counterpart, Nicolae Ceausescu; according to reports from both Bucharest and Moscow, the Rumanian Communist leader is bent on doing to the Soviet bloc's Warsaw alliance what de Gaulle threatens to do to the Western powers' Atlantic alliance.

Celebrating on May 7 the 45th birthday of the Rumanian Communist Party he now heads, Ceausescu made a hypernationalistic, "go it alone" speech championing just such a Europe of *patries*, or individual fatherlands, as de Gaulle advocates.

Acheson calls that "atavistic mysticism" on the part of the Frenchman, who is his elder by less than two-and-a-half years.

But Acheson has also warned against capsule appraisals of public men. Asked by Felix Frankfurter for an appraisal of Justice Brandeis, Acheson replied: "Talking about greatness in men is always an unsatisfactory business. . . ." He thought that some of the people who praised Brandeis and who "proceed with more warmth than knowledge – some of these people would like the Justice less well if they checked up their vague impressions of him and discovered his of them." That could also be true of some opinions concerning Dean Acheson.

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Multiple Choice

The draft, let's admit, is inevitably unfair. It is unfair because though many are on call, relatively few need be chosen. And that is because the United States is not fighting a general war, as in World War II. The Selective Service System can be selective; it is thus discriminatory. The relevant and controversial questions are: Who is discriminated for and against, and on what basis?

About 1.9 million young American men will reach the draftable age of 18½ in the current year. But from January through June, only about 161,400 will have been conscripted. In the same six months, nearly twice that number, about a quarter of a million men, will have voluntarily enlisted for active duty. Perhaps more would enlist if they had assurances of higher pay and better rewards for choosing the military as a career; in that event, fewer draftees would be needed. But since it is estimated that 400,000 US troops will be in Vietnam by the end of 1966, some military manpower doubtless has to be supplied by men who would rather stay out of uniform.

From the very start of the drafting process, built-in inequities appear. Why, for example, given its limited needs, should the military encumber itself by drafting even the moderately unfit? No reason at all. So the overweight are deferred – and they constitute a large category among the exempted, along with those who are too poorly educated to be of much use to the military. We come then to college students, who are physically and intellectually fit. Here is where debate has been the hottest.

It would rage whatever screening method was adopted by Selective Service, for there is widespread, organized and articulate opposition on the campuses to the Vietnam war itself. But that is not the complete explanation for student protests. There is a more limited opposition to the administrative decision in Washington that high scorers on an aptitude test (devised by Science Research Associates of Chicago) constitute a national resource that ought to be protected from the hazards of war. The academic protest against this form of selectivity is ironic: it must be one of the few times that a minority has objected to preferential treatment for itself.

More than 350,000 students, hopeful of draft deferment, took the first of the current series of these tests on May 14 at some 1,250 centers throughout the country. Those who did very well, or whose class standing is high, will presumably have that record in their favor when their case comes before the local draft boards. In the test, they were asked such questions as: "A stick 35 inches long is to be cut so

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that one piece is one-fourth as long as the other. How many inches long must the shorter be? *Five inches, seven inches, 10 inches, 12 inches, 15 inches*" (answer – seven inches).

The students who dislike such proceedings claim that exemption for "brains" (if that is what is being tested) is at best arbitrary, and at the worst discriminatory: discriminatory against the poor, the culturally deprived whose road to learning was blocked early. Some refused to take the May 14 exam for that reason, and instead handed out their own "National Vietnam Examination" to students filing into the classrooms. It was, of course, a propaganda stunt. The anti-exam questions were not meant to test any mathematical or scientific aptitude, but political perception of a certain kind. For example: "According to Mike Mansfield . . . there are 230,000 Viet Cong troops in South Vietnam, of whom 73,000 are main regular forces, including 14,000 North Vietnamese People's Army men. Using these figures, what percentage of the total Viet Cong force is made up of North Vietnamese People's Army men? *Two percent, six percent, 20 percent, 100 percent*" (answer – six percent). And, "Who said the following: 'For years now in Southeast Asia, the only people who have been doing anything about the little man at the grass roots . . . to lift him up, have been the Communists' " (Ambassador Lodge).

"I Never Was Much Good at Taking Tests."

Such things as picketing at Cornell, Wisconsin and Brooklyn College, "take-overs" of administration buildings at the University of Chicago and City College of New York and the "sit-in" at Oberlin have been attributed to "adolescent irrationality" by *The New York Times*. They are a bit more than that. Leaving aside how justified these students may be to object in this way to the war in Vietnam, the protests have a point to make about academic testing as a criterion for draft selection. It is a bit too elitist to suit the democratic taste. (Protesters at Chicago call themselves "Students Against Rank.") The same concern has been expressed by Senator Robert Kennedy, who said the other day that, "We are in a dangerous stage . . . when we're making a decision regarding the draft based on an individual's grades in a particular school." Senator Kennedy speaks here for many educators, too, who are not happy at having academic scores supplied to local draft boards to guide them in determining which students shall be exempted. A committee of professors at Columbia University has urged "as radical a separation of the activities of the Selective Service administration from the educational enterprise as possible." One-hundred-and-forty-two Midwest professors from 15 universities and colleges issued a statement, saying in part: "It is hard to believe that rank in class really predicts the contribution to the national welfare that a student will eventually make."

Some of the heat would be drawn out of this controversy, we suspect, were the opportunity for national service broadened to provide alternatives to military duty. Now it is either/or: the military or nothing. It would seem reasonable to offer a multiple choice, permitting those to be drafted an opportunity of entering the armed forces, or, if qualified, signing up for the Peace Corps, VISTA, the National Teachers' Corps or some comparable privately-run community program. No one would be the loser; the nation would be the winner. A committee of educators favors the idea, as do officials of many of the concerned government agencies. If it is feared that too few 18½-year-olds would opt for the Army, the period of military service could be made less than that for nonmilitary duty. Likewise, pay differences, weighted to requirements for more or less men in the armed forces, could help redress any imbalance. This more flexible approach is not the same as Secretary McNamara's proposal last week that "every young person in the US . . . give two years' service to his country – whether in one of the military services, in the Peace Corps or in some other volunteer developmental work at home or abroad." Something more limited would be more feasible – a choice among kinds of public services for draftees.

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Dodd—Unfinished Business

The Internal Revenue Service may take action against Senator Thomas Dodd of Connecticut for income tax evasion, and may not. The Senate Ethics Committee, at Dodd's request, is looking into charges that he did improper favors for a foreign agent, but it's in no hurry. And Mr. Dodd is seeking a $5-million libel judgment against Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson, the columnists who first called his fund-raising and lobbying activities into question.

Many, many months will pass before any of these proceedings comes to its end. It may be four years before Internal Revenue makes up its mind whether the many thousands of dollars Dodd got from "testimonial" dinners are taxable. The Senate Ethics Committee has promised public hearings but has so far not set a date for them. And the libel suit may not come to trial before 1969, if then.

Dodd has been accused of diverting proceeds of two 1961 fund-raising dinners to his personal use and failing to declare this money as taxable income. In addition, Pearson and Anderson have intimated that Dodd ran political "errands" for Julius Klein, a Chicago PR man and lobbyist for the West German government, in return for expensive gifts and other gratuities. Dodd has denied any impropriety but is reticent about giving the case a full and immediate public airing.

Internal Revenue is prohibited by law from discussing the tax affairs of any individual. The Ethics Committee, which has held more than two months of closed hearings without once asking Mr. Dodd to testify personally, refuses to make public any of its findings. And Dodd himself asked the US District Court in Washington to keep pretrial statements of witnesses secret. Dodd's office has served notice that "there will be no further comment by Senator Dodd or his office" on the pending suit.

His Senate colleagues seem as unenthusiastic as Dodd about keeping the issue on the front pages. They find few things more unpleasant than questioning the integrity or good judgment of club members. The rules of procedure by which the Ethics Committee operates, published April 19, reflect this restraint. One section of the small, blue rule book provides for executive sessions where evidence "may tend to defame or otherwise affect the reputation of any person," which, as the country learned during the McCarthy era, is not a bad rule. Another bans the use of television, motion picture and other cameras from all hearings.

Thus far, meetings of the Committee have been announced only after they have occurred, and then only in the vaguest language. "In today's meeting," reads one press release, "the Committee continued with its analysis and discussion of Senator Dodd's answers and its review of the voluminous correspondence which Senator Dodd has turned over to the Committee. In addition, various facts which were independently ascertained from records relating to Senator Dodd's activities were raised and will be pursued. . . . We are definitely making progress. . . ." What that progress is will not be known until the Committee gets around to scheduling open hearings.

Last week Dodd failed in his attempt to bar publication of pretrial statements by witnesses in his libel and conspiracy suit against Pearson and Anderson. In refusing Dodd's request for sealed depositions, Judge Alexander Holtzoff said: "I do not recall a single instance in years of even a request of this sort."

Checking on CIA

Senator Eugene McCarthy has made a modest proposal. But from some of the blasts shot off on the Senate floor last week, one would have thought he had called for the impeachment of Lyndon Johnson. Endorsed by the Foreign Relations Committee by a nonpartisan vote of 14-to-5, the McCarthy resolution would place the chairman of Foreign Relations and two other members appointed by him on the "watchdog" committee that keeps an eye on the Central Intelligence Agency. Senator Richard Russell was outraged: "Unless the [watchdog] committee of which I am chairman has been derelict in its duty, there is no justification whatever for any other committee 'muscling in'. . . ."

It *has* been derelict in its duty; that is why there is public uneasiness, why numerous editorial writers are asking whether CIA is under strict enough surveillance by officials who are themselves accountable to the voters. In the Senate debate, Senator Russell himself demonstrated that his "watchdogs" have not always been told what CIA is up to. He was questioned by Senator Ernest Gruening about the Agency's role in the "ghastly fiasco" of the Bay of Pigs. Russell replied: "The CIA made a mistake, in my opinion, in telling the President they thought this operation had a good chance of success. . . . I did not know the timing of the Bay of Pigs operation. . . . I only wish I had been consulted, because I would have strongly advised against this kind of operation if I had been." As chairman of the committee whose task it is to watch over CIA, why did he not know, especially since he claims that "the CIA undoubtedly spends more time with its legislative oversight committee than does any other government agency of which I have any knowledge."

Did Mr. Russell also not know of the CIA's concealed penetration of Michigan State University's program in Vietnam? Or was he not informed that a CIA employee, George A. Carver Jr., is the author of the

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lead article on Vietnam that appeared in the April, 1966, *Foreign Affairs*? If he was so informed, did he raise an eyebrow? For, as Senator J. W. Fulbright remarked, it is "quite beyond the ordinary anticipated activities of a member of this Agency to write without identification for a distinguished domestic journal. I do not believe the Agency was created to influence surreptitiously, in a sense, the attitude and policies – the attitude particularly – of the people of this country." How much, in fact, do Senator Russell's "watchdogs" see, and do they ever bark?

What the argument against the McCarthy resolution comes down to is this: giving three members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the right to be informed about CIA would jeopardize our national security. "If that is the case," Senator McCarthy told his colleagues, "they [the Senate] should give thought to changing the membership of that committee so that it could carry out its responsibility." Senator Fulbright said that he does not believe the members of his committee "are any more prone to leak information than anyone else."

Russell and his allies will use whatever parliamentary devices they can find to prevent the McCarthy resolution from coming to the floor for debate and vote. They will hope to have it referred to the Armed Services Committee or to Rules where it can be buried. If, however, they should fail and the Senate considers and adopts the resolution, it will mean that henceforth, through the accident of Senator Fulbright's being chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Senator McCarthy's being the inquisitive and intelligent man that he is, some more pointed questions can be privately asked of the Director of CIA, a bit more scrutiny exercised, and three additional members of the United States Senate will be better informed than they can be today about what goes on behind this iron curtain. It is not so much the intelligence-gathering functions of the Agency which have given rise to public apprehension – and to Senator McCarthy's resolution – but its undercover political operations, the covert subsidies given to influence (perhaps even overthrow) foreign governments.

Quietly Dropped

When Abba Schwartz got wind of the plan to eliminate his job as administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs and to scatter 27 members of his staff to other State Department posts, he quit. An able and respected man in international refugee resettlement affairs and an articulate voice for a liberalized immigration policy, Schwartz could not believe that there was nothing personal in the proposed reorganization and that he was merely the victim of a benign "cost reduction" drive. He was right. Since his departure, the plan which was the pretext for cutting him has been dropped.

It has been dropped because there would have been political trouble had the Administration submitted to Congress the reorganization scheme drawn up at State last summer and worked over by the Budget Bureau in September. Representative Henry S. Reuss (D, Wis.), who sits on the House reorganization subcommittee, had promised that the plan would not be allowed to take effect automatically after 60 days. He would call, he said, for hearings and would invite Schwartz to testify. Schwartz had been involved in a long-standing power struggle with one of his subordinates, Miss Frances Knight, who heads the Passport Office and has enough friends in Congress to guarantee her place at State. Hearings would have given Schwartz a chance to have his say, which would have proved embarrassing to the President, the Department, Miss Knight and her friends. Saving $250,000 wasn't worth it.

Kennedy's Prescription For Latin America

Senator Robert F. Kennedy visited Latin America last year, and this month he rose in the Senate to speak some 20,000 well-chosen words about his hopes and fears. A revolution is coming in Latin America, he said, and nothing can stop it, but the United States could influence it to be peaceful and compassionate, "if we care enough and are wise enough." For, in spite of many hardships and obstacles, Latin Americans have sustained faith in democracy and in the value of the individual, and "have, as the world saw last month in Mexico, kept a great fund of friendship and admiration for the people of the United States."

According to some observers on the spot, the cheers that greeted President Johnson in Mexico City last month were less spontaneous than this suggests. The Mexican authorities have ways of arranging such things, and there have been hints that the word went forth from Washington that Mr. Johnson would be pained if in Mexico he were greeted by crowds a whit smaller or less enthusiastic than the ones that cheered President Kennedy in 1962.

Be that as it may, Senator Kennedy jumped at the opportunity to recall his own travels and express his admiration for Latin Americans. "They have," he told the Senate, "produced some of the finest artists and poets of our time and have preserved a spirit of spontaneous gaiety and humor, even in the midst of adversity, that is a lesson to all of us." All the same, "to travel in Latin America is to see the terrible reality of human

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misery." He had found a village in the Andes "where only one person has ever come to say that he believed in land for the peasants. That one man was a Communist; and now many of these villagers call themselves Communists too, since they are in favor of land reform."

You don't, the experience of 20 years of aid suggests, dig money for Latin America out of the Congress of the United States except by waving the bloody shirt of Communism, and Senator Kennedy wants more money, among other things. He would like to see this country spending each year, on aid to Latin America, about the same amount it spends in a month on the war in Vietnam. (There are 14 million people in South Vietnam, and 230 million in Latin America.) This would mean doubling the $628.2 million the Administration is asking Congress to authorize for Latin America in the coming fiscal year.

Senator Kennedy backs his plea with the familiar litany of Latin American squalor. Illiteracy is 50 percent and in some countries is increasing. Half the cemetery population never reached their fourth birthday. Incomes are often under $100 a year, which would be worse than destitution here and means not-so-slow starvation there.

These gaunt facts, though well known, have not hitherto, despite the promises of the Alliance for Progress, moved Congress to such wise or compassionate steps as helping the Latin Americans get better prices for their copper, coffee or tin, their beef, bananas, oil and other staple exports; or even to authorizing aid without strings. Congress has been more concerned with the problem of disposing of this country's own surplus stocks, or with the balance of payments. Only a few weeks ago, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (with Senator J. William Fulbright and Senator Wayne Morse in the lead) turned thumbs down on a State Department recommendation for commodity stabilization and free trade agreements to be written into the Charter of the Organization of American States. The objecting Senators apparently feared that this step (which the US agreed to at Rio last November, then changed its mind amid Latin cries of outrage) might be interpreted as a "permanent commitment to Latin America."

By demanding dollars for its "food aid," the US has compelled Chile, a third of whose hard-currency earnings buys imported food, to put up the price of copper. Chile is one of the two Latin American countries – Mexico is the other – generally praised in Washington for behaving intelligently about social and economic reforms while also being willing to strive for equitable agreements with American business. Kennedy told the Senate that President Eduardo Frei Montalva and the US copper companies in Chile have reached an agreement under which the Chilean government is to be a major partner in the companies' operations, a settlement which was "reached by the companies themselves, without cutting off aid or other pressure from the US government." Nevertheless, having compelled Chile to push up the price of copper by its insistence on being paid in dollars for food, the US has arranged for shipment here of 100,000 tons of copper from Chile at the old, advantageous, 36-cent price – in return for American financial help to Chile.

Senator Kennedy did not mention those instances, but did recall other blemishes on US-Latin American relations. Latin American scholars deemed too "left" by the State Department are barred from coming here; American scholars bound for Latin America tend to be suspected there of working for the US Army or the Central Intelligence Agency. The Latin American military who in a number of countries overrule, or rule through, civilian governments are kept powerful by those governments' excessive spending on arms and most of this harmful expenditure directly profits US arms firms. Kennedy proposes that instead of encouraging arms sales to Latin America, the Administration and Congress promote Latin American disarmament; and that they use aid generally as a lever for encouraging democracy and discouraging the juntas and their interminable coups. The other nine proposals he put before the Senate ranged from Peace Corps activities, to providing funds for family planning in Latin American countries. At their present rate of population growth, and despite all those four-year-olds in four-foot coffins, the 230 million Latin Americans will, Senator Kennedy says, be 363 million by 1980.

Land reform comes fifth on his list, but it is vital. Kennedy wants to harness the "energy and devotion and skills of tens of thousands of Americans" to agricultural development programs in Latin America. Yet he has to confess that "less than a twentieth of the students in Latin America are preparing for work in the critical field of agriculture," just as "too few" of them are preparing to become engineers or teachers. While population grows apace, food production per head doesn't grow at all. People crowd into cities to escape starvation in the countryside. But until the countryside becomes prosperous, there can't be a real, growing market for industries. Most Latin Americans are still peasants. US investment accounts for the lion's share of manufacturing plant in Latin America, yet it employs only about a million Latin American workers. A relatively tiny industrial proletariat, and a few big landowning families who have clutched almost all the wealth and power, generation after generation, for 300 years, don't provide a base for growth. Latin America fits Chinese Defense Minister Lin Piao's definition of a "rural area" ripe for revolution. Like pre-revolutionary

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Russia and China, it suffers from a static agriculture, an alienated intelligentsia, a small local "proletariat" and foreign ownership of most of what's modern in the way of industry.

This large dry haystack needn't go up in a blaze, though Fidel Castro and others are ready to throw lighted matches into it; but probably only drastic land reform and a sustained and quickened aid effort by this country can prevent it doing so some time in the next five or 10 years. Senator Kennedy is therefore right to call urgently for that larger and sustained effort, and justified in prodding Congress with the only goad that ever seems to get results, the Communist threat. Latin America's national income is about $60 billion a year, which is what the US *adds* to its own gross national product each year; we can afford the aid and have given Latin America comparatively little – Kennedy points out that in the 15 years after the war this country provided $30 billion in aid to Europe, $15 billion to Asia, only $2.5 billion to Latin America.

But will the Administration and Congress go along, not just with aid but with actively promoting radical economic and social reform and representative government, and showing a stern face toward class privilege and military dictatorships? Or will that be rejected as unrealistically "soft on" something or other? One pointer is President Johnson's declaration last month, quoted by Kennedy, that this country will not be deterred from assisting "social revolution" in Latin America "by those who say that to risk change is to risk Communism."

But then there is Joseph B. Beirne's sad experience this month at the second inter-American conference of labor ministers in Caracas, Venezuela. Mr. Beirne is an AFL-CIO vice president and a prominent member of the US delegation led by Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz. Beirne proposed saying in a speech, "When we speak of nonviolent change the priority, if it should come to that, is on change not on nonviolence. We believe in obtaining social reforms through lobbying and voting rather than by fighting, but if anyone were to take away our rights to lobby, to strike or to vote, you can be sure we would fight." This by coincidence parallels Kennedy's statement in his Senate speech that "these people will not accept this kind of existence for the next generation. We would not; they will not." But the remarks by the president of the Communications Workers of America were struck out of the copies of his speech that were distributed by what *The New York Times* called "State Department aides." And copies of the Beirne's speech with these remarks intact soon became scarce; *The New York Times* said this was because "they were destroyed by aides of the United States delegation."

China–Has a Succession Struggle Begun?

The position of Mao Tse-tung himself has now been brought into question in the leadership struggle in China, which is growing in intensity from day to day.

The situation in Peking is now comparable to the crisis in the Soviet leadership a few months before the death of Stalin. At that time, the discovery of an alleged "doctors' plot" against the lives of Soviet leaders signaled the beginnings of a major purge at the highest levels of the leadership. In Peking, the struggle for the succession to Mao Tse-tung appears to have developed when his associates began suspecting that he may not be with them much longer. His reappearance now after a seven-month absence from the political scene suggests that he has been seriously ill. The visible signs of the struggle make it clear that Mao himself, or those who are using his name, are launching a vigorous counterattack.

The latest press attack on the anti-Mao faction, in the *Liberation Army Daily*, accuses Peking newspapers of "indirectly scolding a certain person," who is evidently so eminent as to be unmentionable. The original article in which this vile deed was done had been written by Teng To, the managing director of the *People's Daily*, which is the most authoritative party newspaper in China. Since Communist newspapers do not publish personal political pronouncements attacking the reigning leaders, it must be assumed that the article by Teng To reflected the views of a section of the Chinese leadership. "Teng To even frantically clamored that our party should step down as soon as possible 'to take a rest'," says the *Liberation Army Daily*, in an obvious reference to the demand in the leadership that Mao himself should step down on grounds of health or age.

Teng To is said to be "the leader of a handful of anti-party elements" which have "manipulated three Peking newspapers as tools against the party." They are the *Peking Daily*, the *Peking Evening News* and *Frontline*. All three are official organs of the Peking party organization, of which Teng To was a secretary. The attack on Teng To can, therefore, be seen to have been aimed against the leadership of the Peking party organization, which is headed by Peng Chen, one of

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the top members of the politburo. He is one of the half-dozen or so Chinese leaders who are regarded as having a claim to the succession.

Peng Chen has been absent from public functions in Peking since March, although he would have normally been expected to attend them, in his capacity as mayor of Peking. One of the writers who has been under heavy attack recently for his veiled criticism of the Chinese leadership, Wu Han, is a vice mayor of Peking. Again, it is possible that the press attacks against Wu Han are really aimed against Peng Chen, who remains, for the time being, unnamed.

The claim in the *Army Daily* that there is no real difference between Teng To and the "Khrushchev revisionists" carries the implication that the opposition group might have pressed for the ending of the quarrel with Russia and for the restoration of the alliance. Teng To had reviled the party, it says, for its alleged fanaticism, for making "great empty speeches," and had attacked the policy of the "Great Leap Forward" as "boasts," "wild fancy" and "unrealistic illusions" which became "totally wrecked."

"Let us think back for a moment, comrades," says the Army paper, and reminds its readers that the Russians had taken the Chinese leaders to task for "telling big lies," for "boasting," and had described the Great Leap Forward as "Adventurism."

The press campaign began with articles against three playwrights who were said to have published plays and articles between 1959 and 1962 making veiled criticism of the party leadership and of Mao Tse-tung. Only lately has the press attack been directed against so political a figure as Teng To, who also is accused of publishing the offending articles in 1961. But the present relevance of the attacks on him and on the Peking papers is shown by the accusation that they were still refusing, as of two weeks ago, to make a full self-criticism. As late as May 1, according to the *Kwanming Daily*, they had published an article by Teng To under a pen name in an attempt "to give to this big polemical issue a turn to the right." On May 3, said the *Kwanming Daily*, addressing the Peking papers directly, "You thought you could get by and therefore made efforts to shield bad people; in doing so, your own countenance was laid bare." The *Army Daily* accused the Peking papers of "sham criticism for the purpose of covering up a machination to harbor the anti-party and anti-socialist black threat."

There has been a great deal of evidence in the Chinese press lately to suggest that the military debate within the party leadership which led to the dismissal in 1959 of Marshal Peng Teh-huai as Defense Minister (for siding with the Russians, among other things), has flared up again with redoubled force. Army leaders have been criticized for taking a "purely" military and "professional" point of view, and for trying to ignore the party's political commands. There are strong indications in the Chinese press that the military leaders are once again pressing, as they were under Peng Teh-huai, for a revival of the alliance with Russia to provide the modern weapons without which, they appear to believe, the security of China cannot be guaranteed. This is suggested by press criticism of those military men who are said to "overemphasize" the role of modern weapons at the disposal of China's enemies.

The "strong man" of the armed forces, General Lo Jui-ching, has been unaccountably absent from the public scene since November. He was brought in as chief of staff after the dismissal of Peng Teh-huai to eradicate the military deviation. The new Minister of Defense, Marshal Lin Piao, has suffered from prolonged illness. Although the defense minister's name has appeared on all important military statements, it was Lo who had become, in effect, the acting head of the armed forces. In this position, charged as he was with ensuring the effective defense of the country, he might have easily become converted to the "purely" military and "professional" view for which Peng Teh-huai was dismissed, and for which other unnamed military leaders have been criticized in recent months. The most outspoken of these attacks was delivered earlier this year at the Army's political conference. This was the first such conference that Lo neither attended nor addressed since becoming chief of staff. His name has also failed to appear in lists of "funeral commissions" set up on the deaths of several military leaders in recent months. Since the inclusion of a name on these lists depends on the standing of the members of the commission, not on their presence in Peking, the absence of Lo's name suggests that he may be in disgrace.

A speech he delivered shortly before his disappearance, in which he stressed the need for the unity of "socialist countries" in face of a possible attack by the United States, suggests that he might indeed have been advocating the revival of the Russian alliance. He even went so far as to recall that before the last war, Britain and France had refused to cooperate with Russia against Hitler, and to argue that this was one reason for Hitler's initial successes.

The identification of Lo and Peng Chen, the Peking party leader, as members of the opposition, must necessarily be tentative. But the evidence in the Chinese press in recent weeks suggests that there does exist a political opposition group at the highest level, and an examination of the records of the various leaders suggests that these two are its most likely members.

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Johnson's Dilemma

The Alternatives Now in Vietnam

by Hans J. Morgenthau

The events of recent months have brought the Vietnam war to a turning point. They have shattered at two places the wall of myths which thus far has protected us from contact with reality. Through two gaping holes reality stares us in the face, reducing to its true fictional dimensions what we mistakenly took to be the facts.

First of all, there is no such thing as a government in Saigon, and there has not been one since Diem's downfall in November, 1963, which we can be committed to assist and defend. South Vietnam is for all practical purposes divided into four autonomous fiefdoms, coterminous with the four corps areas and governed by their respective military commanders, over which the Saigon government exerts at best only the most tenuous control. In the attempt to restore its control over the First Corps area, the Saigon government had to resort to civil war.

This erosion of central control started with Diem's downfall and has been accentuated under Ky. Charles Mohr reported in *The New York Times* of April 15 that Ky "had virtually no popular support." He has no support from his subordinates either. When he criticized General Thi on March 3 in Danang in front of his staff, the latter asked: "Should we listen to this little man from Saigon?" General Chuan, appointed by Ky as the successor to Thi, expressed himself in favor of the aims of the anti-government demonstrations while mildly opposing in words the occurrence of demonstrations, and was forthwith dismissed. General Chieu, the Secretary-General of the military Directory, was seized in Hue by demonstrators and, in a speech over the radio station, duplicated General Chuan's performance. General Dinh, who was appointed to replace Chuan, is reported to be backing a "revolutionary corps" composed of rebellious troops and students. When government troops approached Danang on May 14, he fled to the house of General Walt, commander of the US Marines. According to *The New York Times* of May 16, he "was relieved of command because of 'disloyalty to the central government.' He was reported to have fled to Hue to join in open rebellion against the Ky regime. In his place, the government appointed Brig. Gen. Huynh Van Cao. . . . General Cao is the fourth man to hold the First Corps post in a little more than two months."

Junior officers of the First Corps issued a declaration of no confidence in the regime. Soldiers, policemen, civil servants – those who are the government in action – demonstrated in the streets against Ky and his associates. Robert Shaplen reports in *The New Yorker* that "one of the highest ranking leaders in the present government remarked to a friend that he did not know who among the 26 members of the present cabinet 'might be Communists'." C. L. Sulzberger summed it all up when he wrote in *The New York Times* of April 20: "For today the North of this tortured land, comprising the heart of ancient Annam, is almost an autonomous third Vietnam: although it is not controlled by Hanoi, it is but tenuously linked to Saigon. Vietnam once comprised three administrative areas – Tonkin, run from Hanoi; Cochin China, run from Saigon; and Annam, run from Hue. At the moment history repeats itself."

The other myth that has been exploded by recent events is the assumption that we are in Vietnam to protect the freedom of a people who want to be protected by us. The recent disturbances have been marked by widespread anti-Americanism aimed at our presence in South Vietnam. That sentiment was openly expressed by the demonstrators and voiced by high military personnel. Buddhist leaders declared their satisfaction with the prospect of our departure. In his speech of April 18 at Hue, the Buddhist leader, Tri Quang, declared that "we are oppressed by two pressures – the Communists and the Americans. In the face of such monopolization and control, we must regain our right of self-determination. . . ." It is significant that General Dinh, mentioned above, invited Tri Quang to repeat this speech in Danang. The missteps of Ky, whom President Johnson had compared to Professor Rexford Tugwell, one of the architects of the New Deal, were widely blamed upon his "American advisers." Workers on American installations went on strike. Americans were attacked in the streets, and in consequence, several hundred American civilians had to be evacuated

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from Danang and American soldiers ordered off the streets of Vietnamese cities.

The mythological character of these two assumptions – the existence of a government in Saigon which we are committed to aid and defend, and the existence of a South Vietnamese people eager to be saved by us from Communism – has, of course, been well known to those observers who were capable of looking at the situation objectively, and there is no lack of printed material pointing to it. (*Cf.* on anti-Americanism, for instance, Jack Langguth's article in *The New York Times Magazine* of August 8, 1965.) Yet the clash between fiction and reality, revealing the fictions for what they are, has come as a shock to many of those who had lived in a self-created world of what Mark Twain has called "conscience-soothing fantasies." In consequence, there has been a sharpening and a radicalization of policy alternatives. There are those who recommend that we take over the government of South Vietnam and pursue the war with new vigor in the South and, more particularly, in the North. Others, such as Senators John Sherman Cooper, Vance Hartke, Jacob Javits, Richard Russell, John Stennis and many others who want to maintain their anonymity suggest that we leave Vietnam if a duly-elected government requests us to, and some, such as Senators Russell and Stennis, are identified with both recommendations as alternatives.

The chief victim of this new contact with reality is likely to be President Johnson's moderate policy. The recent escalation of air attacks against the North is likely to be a portent of things to come. The mainstay of that moderate policy has been a two-pronged war, seeking pacification in the South, interdiction of supplies and erosion of the will to wage war in the North. Both policies have failed. Pacification, aside from its incompatibility with a war necessarily waged without discrimination between combatants and civilians, requires a government which can keep pacified areas under its control and command the loyalties of the inhabitants. Yet the Saigon government cannot even control its own officials and its cities, which openly defy it and are honeycombed with Viet Cong agents.

The bombing of the North, strictly limited in terms of targets, suffers from the same inner contradiction which Winston Churchill, on the occasion of the League of Nations' sanctions against Italy during the Ethiopian War, put in the following epigram: "First, the Prime Minister had declared that sanctions meant war; secondly, he was resolved that there must be no war; and thirdly, he decided upon sanctions. It was evidently impossible to comply with these three conditions." Similarly, President Johnson knows that effective bombing of North Vietnam conjures up the risk of a military confrontation with China or the Soviet Union or both; he is resolved that there must be no such confrontation, and he has decided upon the bombing of North Vietnam. Thus, in terms of its objective of bringing the Hanoi government to its knees and isolating it from the South, the bombing of North Vietnam, limited by the risk of a military confrontation with China and the Soviet Union, is of necessity an exercise in futility.

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The Limits of Bombing

It is at this point that the advocates of expanded bombing have logic on their side. If you want to test bombing as an instrument of political warfare, you must hurt the enemy until you have reached the limits of his endurance. Where these limits are is, however, a very open question. The experiences of World War II and of the Korean War cast serious doubt upon the effectiveness of even unlimited bombing as an instrument of political warfare. They suggest that under the impact of continuing attacks from the air, the morale of a government and of a people may stiffen rather than disintegrate.

The main issue raised by the suggestion to lift the restraints upon the bombing of North Vietnam, however, transcends the effectiveness of bombing as an instrument of political warfare. It concerns our relations with China and the Soviet Union. Neither of the two major Communist powers can afford to watch the destruction of a "fraternal Socialist country" without giving aid commensurate with the threat. Their leadership of the world Communist movement and, more particularly, their competition for it compel them to escalate their aid in proportion to our escalation of the damage we inflict upon North Vietnam. For China, that compulsion is compounded by her concern for national security. Where such escalation would stop or whether it could be stopped at all is anybody's guess. One can certainly not exclude the possibility that the Soviet Union and China would supply North Vietnam with "volunteers" and "technicians" on a large scale. The possibility of escalation, therefore, includes the risk of a direct military confrontation between the United States, on the one hand, China or the Soviet Union or both, on the other.

To the question as to whether we ought to take such a risk, no *a priori* affirmative or negative answer can be given. Rather the answer depends upon the assessment of the stakes in terms of the national interest of the United States, for which such a confrontation would take place. In other words, we are facing here again the much debated question, why are we in Vietnam?

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If the stakes in Vietnam are as high as the supporters of the war make them out to be, if indeed the credibility of the United States and its prestige as a great power are at issue, if perhaps even the fate of Asia and of the non-Communist world at large will be decided in Vietnam, then the risk of a direct military confrontation with China and the Soviet Union is worth taking. If, on the other hand, the stakes are minor or as mythological as the commitment to a Saigon government and the eagerness of the people of South Vietnam to be defended by us have already proved to be, then the risks we have been taking have been out of all proportion to the interests involved, and by the same token there is no legitimate reason for increasing drastically these risks. This is indeed what I believe.

The Administration's Case

The stakes by which our continuing presence in Vietnam and the expansion of the war are justified are, in ascending order of plausibility, resistance to aggression, the containment of China, the containment of Communism, and the prestige of the United States.

We must prove, so the first argument runs, that aggression, especially in the form of "wars of national liberation," does not pay by frustrating it in Vietnam. I shall not raise here again the otherwise relevant question as to whether we are facing in South Vietnam foreign aggression in the true sense of the word, and shall limit myself to pointing out that the argument assumes both a uniform pattern of aggression and a causal nexus among different manifestations of it. In this view, there exist, say, five opportunities for aggression throughout the world. By stamping out number one, one is supposed to have gone a long way toward preventing the others from materializing. This is, of course, an utterly dogmatic view of the world, completely oblivious of the concrete circumstances of time and place which determine the success or failure of political action. From this apolitical and unhistoric vantage point, the political processes appear as a series of litigations, the outcome of which is determined, in the manner of a legal precedent, by the outcome of the first.

In truth, each case of "aggression" is *sui generis*, and except in the rare case of a close political and military connection, the outcome of one can at best have only a remote psychological influence upon the outcome of the others. The success of Soviet "aggression" in Hungary and Cuba did not predetermine the success of aggression elsewhere. Neither the failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion nor the success of the intervention in the Dominican Republic provide a precedent for anything. What happened in North Vietnam in 1954 and in Laos since 1958 has had no determining effect upon what happened elsewhere in the world, Southeast Asia included; at best, it was one factor among many. Our stake in thwarting "aggression" in South Vietnam must, then, be judged on its own merits, not in the unreal terms of remote determining effects.

That requirement is answered by the argument that we are in South Vietnam in order to contain China. However, the argument is devoid of factual support on three grounds. First, it assumes that the extension of Hanoi's rule to South Vietnam or the establishment of an independent South Vietnamese government of which the Viet Cong are a part would be tantamount to the expansion of Chinese influence into South Vietnam. In truth, however, China is being contained in Vietnam, North and South, even under the present most adverse circumstances, not by our military presence but by the innate nationalistic hostility of all of Vietnam to China. The expansion of Chinese influence has been stopped by the nationalism of Vietnam, as it has by that of North Korea.

Our military presence in South Vietnam and our war against the North – and this is the second error – far from serving the cause of China's containment actually serves her expansion; for it weakens that indigenous nationalism which everywhere in the uncommitted world contains the influence of the great powers. By making war upon the Viet Cong and North Vietnam, we are making war upon the most effective instruments of Vietnamese nationalism, and in the measure that we escalate the war, we force them into unwanted dependence upon China. Thus our policy has results exactly opposite to those intended.

Finally, the result would not be different if we were successful in our aim of destroying the power of the Viet Cong in South Vietnam and establishing and maintaining some sort of anti-Communist government there. Such a government would from the outset be discredited in the eyes of the Vietnamese people since it could not maintain itself without massive American support. From whatever angle one approaches the problem, one cannot escape the existential incompatibility between Vietnamese nationalism and a white military presence, however benevolently conceived.

This being the case, the argument that we must remain in Vietnam in order to contain China blends into the one that we must remain in Vietnam in order to contain Communism, regardless of the preferences of the government and people of South Vietnam. By shifting the argument to an abstract ideological plane, we hope at the same time to avoid entanglement in the concrete issues of Vietnamese politics and to put our policy into the framework of a worldwide anti-Communist design. Yet that shift does not allow us to escape the confrontation with Vietnamese nationalism, which is fatal to that argument, too. It is the polycentric nature of modern Communism, as it reveals itself in the

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extremely peculiar conditions of Vietnam, that defeats the argument.

The interests and policies of China, the Viet Cong and the government of North Vietnam are not identical, although they all embrace Communism. North Vietnam seeks the unification of Vietnam under its own auspices; among the Viet Cong, there are strong anti-Northern tendencies; and China wants to reduce all of Vietnam to the position of a satellite. If we want to contain the Communism of the North, we might want to strengthen the Viet Cong's tendencies toward autonomy. If we want to contain the Communism of the Viet Cong, we thereby weaken one element which could have contained the Communism of the North. And by weakening either, we of course weaken the nationalistic barrier which Vietnamese nationalism interposes against the expansion of Chinese power. Thus a doctrinaire anti-Communism makes a rational foreign policy altogether impossible.

Finally, there is the argument that our prestige requires us to stay in Vietnam. It is really the decisive argument upon which our policy stands or falls. It is implicit in all the others that have been advanced – commitment, defense of freedom, opposition to aggression, containment – and it has a measure of merit. Our prestige is indeed engaged in Vietnam. However unwise it might have been to engage it and, more particularly, to escalate that engagement drastically in word and deed, the engagement of our prestige is an undeniable fact. We have committed our power, our resolution, and our wisdom to an outcome of the struggle in Vietnam favorable to the interests of the people of South Vietnam, as we see them, and to our own.

However, this threefold commitment of our prestige shows a fatal flaw. Nobody at home or abroad doubts our power to destroy the Viet Cong, be it even through genocide. Nor can anybody doubt our resolution to do so if this were to serve the interests at stake. What many Americans and an overwhelming majority of foreigners doubt is our wisdom in engaging our power and resolution in behalf of patently fictitious assumptions. Is our prestige better served by proving again and again what requires no further proof: that we have power and resolution, or by correcting policies which so many disinterested observers regard as being politically unwise, militarily unprofitable and morally dubious? Is it really a boon to the prestige of the most powerful nation on earth to be bogged down in a war which it is neither able to win nor can afford to lose? This is the real issue which is presented by the argument of prestige.

The rational resolution of that issue is rendered difficult by two factors. On the one hand, it requires the admission that the nation's policies have been mistaken

and have fallen short of their goals. On the other hand, it requires the admission that the nation's policy-makers have been mistaken and have fallen short of their tasks. Thus the prestige of the nation is inextricably intertwined with the personal prestige of the policy-makers. Certainly this nation is great and successful enough for its prestige to survive the admission of a misadventure. But those who govern us do not seem to think so; for they are lacking in that measure of confidence in themselves, of inner strength, nay, of greatness which will give a government the courage to step before the nation and the world and say, we have been mistaken. In the short run, the continuation of bankrupt policies, concealed by fictitious assumptions about the real world, promises an easy way out. In the long run, no government can escape the consequences of its mistakes, and the longer it persists in them, the greater will be the loss both to the substance of the national interest and to national and personal prestige.

The arguments in favor of our staying in Vietnam, then, do not bear objective scrutiny. This has always been so. What is new in the present situation is the opportunity it provides to disengage ourselves honorably and with a minimum loss of prestige from a profitless and risky misadventure. According to present plans, there are supposed soon to be elections in South Vietnam. These elections, if they are held at all, are not going to be representative or "free." First, elections can only be held in that part of Vietnam, comprising at best half of the population, which is firmly under the control of the military. Second, the Viet Cong will not be allowed to participate. Third, since the advocacy of a negotiated settlement

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is a criminal offense in South Vietnam, one very important segment of opinion will have no legitimate outlet. Finally, Vietnam has no real tradition of fair nationwide elections on national issues. Thus the government that administers the elections is likely to win them. It is in our interest to see to it that elections are actually held, and that through them political elements will come to the fore which will seek to liquidate the war through a negotiated settlement. To that end, we ought to work for the establishment of a broadly-based coalition government in which war-weary elements of the South Vietnamese population would have a decisive voice.

These political elements conceive of the issue of the war in different terms from ours. While for us the issue is between Communism and freedom, the South Vietnamese, insofar as they are anti-Communist, see it as a contest between a tyranny which at least can boast to have liberated the country from foreign domination, and a succession of tyrannies considered the tool of yet another foreign domination. These Vietnamese tend to equate the Communists and the Americans, and they would like to get rid of the latter while being confident of being able to fend off the former. Tri Quang's statement quoted above is a faithful expression of that position. We may consider this position to be utterly mistaken and contrary to the best interests of the people of South Vietnam as we see them, but if we are not prepared to impose our conception of their interests upon them by seeing to it that they be rather dead than red, we must accept it as the point of departure for a new American policy of disengagement.

Leaving It to the Vietnamese

The implementation of such a policy would be subordinated to the policies of the government of South Vietnam. We would refrain from imposing our conception of our commitments upon such a government and would leave it to them to interpret it. While the ultimate goal of such a policy would be the phased withdrawal of American forces, they would remain during the period of negotiations as a bargaining counter on behalf of the government of South Vietnam. This political purpose would be served by the continuing American occupation of the cities and coastal bases, which are today the mainstay of American military power in South Vietnam.

The "enclave" policy which I advocated in the *Milwaukee Journal* of June 27, 1965, and with which more recently Generals James M. Gavin and Matthew B. Ridgway and others have been identified, here finds a new and productive political purpose. This policy would amount to the temporary acceptance on our part of the existing de facto division of South Vietnam into the territory controlled by the Viet Cong and by the South Vietnamese military. It would imply the cessation of search-and-destroy forays and of air attacks and the maintenance of the status quo in the cities and the military bases presently under anti-Viet Cong control. Since such an arrangement would be intended to last only for the duration of negotiations, it could be expected, and might even be stipulated, that the Viet Cong would abstain from attacks upon, and acts of sabotage within, these enclaves.

We had the opportunity to embark upon such a policy last June when some prominent members of the Quat government tried to move toward a negotiated settlement. It was exactly because of this that the Administration allowed that government to be overthrown by General Ky. Is the Administration readier now to grasp that opportunity, especially after two assumptions upon which our present policy is based have been revealed as fictions? It would be rash to give a positive answer to that question.

There have always been government officials of fairly high position who were in favor of such a policy, and many common citizens, journalists and even hawkish senators, under the impact of recent events, have come to see reality at least partially in its true light. Yet the spokesmen of our government, as by conditioned reflex, endeavor to close the holes in the wall of myths with new fictions in order to keep an unwelcome reality out. One spokesman has dismissed the political disintegration of South Vietnam as "growing pains." Another has welcomed the upsurge of anti-Americanism as a healthy sign of nationalism. In contrast, and in the face of all the evidence to the contrary, a third one has discovered that the recent political turmoil in South Vietnam contained "only a very small overlay of anti-Americanism" and basically was "about the kind of government that can most efficiently carry on the war." These inanities are shown up for what they are by a Saigon dispatch of Charles Mohr in *The New York Times* of April 21, quoting an official source to the effect that, "There is a very real war-weariness in this country and the Buddhists represent it politically. I don't think there is any doubt that they will try to find ways to end the war."

The melancholy conclusion is inescapable that governments, like men in general, if they are capable of learning at all, learn from experience rather than from rational arguments. A blister burned on a child's finger is more persuasive than parental warnings. Perhaps we have not yet suffered enough for the lessons of Vietnam to sink in. Thus men must die, women must weep, what nature has provided and man has wrought must be destroyed, because governments, blinded by prejudice and paralyzed by pride, learn too slowly for the good of the governed.

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THE UNIVERSITY

by Walter Lippmann

I am free of the obligation to offer solutions of the problems which occupy so much of the time of the governing authorities in the academic world: how to raise money, how to appease the alumni, how to get around the trustees, the state legislatures, the foundations and the Pentagon, how to ingratiate themselves with the chamber of commerce, the board of trade, and the clergy, how to tranquilize the egos of the faculty, how to deal with the students in their academic lives, their ideological lives, and their sexual lives, how to be cheerful and good fellows with the excessively inquiring reporters. About all of these preoccupations I shall have nothing to say. This leaves open to me the broad, unrestricted field of the human condition and what the universities ought to be doing for it and about it.

The proposition with which I am starting is that as men become modern men, they are emancipated and thus deprived of the guidance and support of traditional and customary authority. Because of this, there has fallen to the universities a unique, indispensable and capital function in the intellectual and spiritual life of modern society. I do not say that the universities today are prepared to perform this spiritual and intellectual function. What I do say is that a way will have to be found to perform these functions if the pursuit of the good life, to which this country is committed, is to continue and to be successful.

For modern men are living today amidst the consequences of emancipation from established authority. The dream of Franklin and Jefferson, as Mr. James A. Perkins describes it in his recent Stafford Little Lecture, was of "an open society, free of both ecclesiastical and civil control, with little to fear from the uninhibited search for truth and for experiments in the application of truth." The preponderant majority of our people in America today have arrived at such an open society. They have found, I submit, that as they are emancipated from established authority they are not successfully equipped to deal with the problems of American society and of their private lives. They are left with the feeling that there is a vacuum within them, a vacuum where there were the signs and guide posts of an ancestral order, where there used to be ecclesiastical and civil authority, where there was certainty, custom, usage and social status, and a fixed way of life. One of the great phenomena of the human condition in the modern age is the dissolution of the ancestral order, the erosion of established authority; and, having lost the light and the leading, the guidance and the support, the discipline that the ancestral order provided, modern men are haunted by a feeling of being lost and adrift, without purpose and meaning in the conduct of their lives. The thesis which I am putting to you is that the modern void, which results from the vast and intricate process of emancipation and rationalization, must be filled, and that the universities must fill the void because they alone can fill it.

It is a high destiny. But it must be accepted and it must be realized.

Before we can proceed, we must ask ourselves why, in the quest of a good life in a good society, we now turn to the universities rather than, let us say, to the churches or the government. We do that because the behavior of man depends ultimately on what he believes to be true, to be true about the nature of man and the universe in which he lives, to be true about man's destiny in historical time, to be true about the nature of good and evil and how to know the difference, to be true about the way to ascertain and to recognize the truth and to distinguish it from error.

In other times and in other places, the possessors and guardians of true knowledge have been held to be the appointed spokesmen of a universal and indisputable tradition and of divine revelation. In the Western society to which we belong the traditional guardians and spokesmen of true knowledge have in varying degrees lost or renounced their titles to speak with complete authority. The hierarchy of priests, the dynasties of rulers, the courtiers, the civil servants and the commissars have to give way . . . and there is left as the court of last resort when the truth is at issue, "the ancient and universal company of scholars."

Having said this, I have not forgotten how often the

WALTER LIPPMANN, *noted columnist and author, was a founding editor of* The New Republic. *This article is from an address on "The University and the Human Condition" given by him earlier this month at a California convocation sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.*

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professors have been proved to be wrong, how often the academic judgment has been confounded by some solitary thinker or artist, how often original and innovating men have been rejected by the universities, only to be accepted and celebrated after they are dead. The universal company of scholars is not an infallible court of last resort. Not in the least. On the contrary, it is an axiom of modern thought that the very process of thinking evolves. In human affairs nothing is infallible, absolute and everlasting. There are no courts which can anticipate fully the course of events. There are none which can take account of the unpredictability of genius. Nevertheless, in the modern world there exists no court which is less fallible than the company of scholars, when we are in the field of truth and error.

This court, this universal company of scholars, comprises all who study and teach in all the universities and institutes of the world. The colleagues of each scholar are his peers, those who have qualified themselves in mastering and obeying the criteria by which, in a field of knowledge, truth and error are judged.

The company of scholars is all over the globe, and its members are duty-bound to hear one another.

Insofar as the communication among them is adequate, so that a physicist in California is aware of the experiments and criticisms of a physicist in Peking, there exists the best possible insurance available to mortal men against the parochialism, the stuffiness and the dogmatism which are the chronic diseases of academies.

"There Is No Other Court"

I have said enough, I hope, to reassure anyone who might think that I am glorifying the professors and attributing to them more power and authority than they are entitled to have. I do not mean to do that. I have had my share of controversies with a good many professors. What I do say is that the community of professors is, in the modern world, the best available source of guidance and authority in the field of knowledge. There is no other court to which men can turn and find what they once found in tradition and in custom, in ecclesiastical and civil authority. Because modern man in his search for truth has turned away from kings, priests, commissars and bureaucrats, he is left, for better or worse, with the professors.

And while we must treat the verdicts of the professors with a vigilant skepticism, they do have a certain authority. It comes from the fact that they have vowed to accept the discipline of scholarship and to seek the truth by using the best intellectual methods at the time known to contemporary men.

To make sure that I am not overstating my thesis, let me repeat. The community of scholars is the court of last resort in those fields of inquiry and knowledge about which scholars, as scholars, are concerned. Thus, if a professor is charged with the murder of his colleague, the court of last resort is not the faculty of his university or the faculties of all the universities. It is the judiciary of the state in which he lives. For the scholar is a scholar only part of the time and in part of his activity. In the role of murderer he is outside the field of scholarship.

But if a professor is alleged to have murdered his colleague a hundred years ago, as in the case of Professor Webster at Harvard, the court of last resort *today* about his guilt or innocence a century ago is not the judiciary of Massachusetts. It is the historians who have studied the evidence now available and have been confronted with the findings of all the historians who have read the history of the case. After a hundred years, no one is more qualified than are the historians to judge the case.

Reflecting on this we come close, I think, to the essential principle of academic freedom. In his relations with the laws of the land, a professor is as subject as any other man to the laws against murder, robbery, cheating on the income tax, driving his automobile recklessly. The laws for him, as for all other men, are what the law-enforcing authorities say they are. The professor has no special privileges and no special immunity.

But in the field of truth and error about the nature of things, and of the history and future of the universe and of man, the state and its officials have no jurisdiction. When the scholar finds that two and two make four, no policeman, no judge, no governor, no legislator, no trustee, no rich alumnus, has any right to ordain that two and two make five. Only other scholars who have gone through a mathematical training equivalent to his, and are in one way or another qualified as his peers, can challenge his findings that two and two make four. Here, it is the community of scholars who are the court of last resort.

It follows that they are the court of last resort in determining the qualifications of admission to the community of scholars – that is to say, the criteria of appointment and the license to teach. No criterion can be recognized which starts somewhere else than in the canons of scholarship and scientific research. No criterion is valid here because it emanates from the chamber of commerce, or the trade union council, or the American Legion, or the clergy, or the newspapers, or the Americans for Democratic Action, or the John Birch Society or any political party. The selection and the tenure of the members of the community of scholars is subject to the criterion that scholars shall be free of any control except a stern duty to bear faithful allegiance to the truth they are appointed to seek.

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A judgment as to whether a scholar has been faithful is one that only his peers can render. The supreme sin of a scholar, *qua* scholar, is to lie, not about where he spent the previous weekend, but about whether two and two make four.

Truth for Its Own Sake

If we say that the vocation of the scholar is to seek the truth, it follows, I submit, that he must seek the truth for the simple purpose of knowing the truth. The search for truth proceeds best if it is inspired by wonder and curiosity, if, that is to say, it is disinterested – if the scholar disregards all secondary considerations of how his knowledge may be applied, how it can be sold, whether it is useful, whether it is good or bad, respectable, fashionable, moral, popular and patriotic, whether it will work or whether it will make men happier or unhappier, whether it is agreeable or disagreeable, whether it is likely to win him a promotion or a prize or a decoration, whether it will get a good vote in the Gallup poll. Genius is most likely to expand the limits of our knowledge, on which all the applied sciences depend, when it works in a condition of total unconcern with the consequences of its own findings.

Believing this, I hold that the university must have at its core a sanctuary for excellence, where the climate is favorable to the pursuit of truth for its own sake. In our conglomerate and swarming society, the last best hopes of mankind lie in what is done, and in what example is set, in these sanctuaries.

I do not think of them as monastic establishments shut off from the struggles and strains of the human condition. I think of them as societies of fellows within the great corporate institutions that our universities have become, as societies where the relatively few who can pursue truth disinterestedly will find the support and sustaining fellowship of their peers.

Since man's whole knowledge of things is not inherited and must be acquired anew by every generation, there is in every human society a culture, a tradition of the true and the false, the right and the wrong, of the good which is desirable and the bad which is to be avoided. This culture is rooted in the accepted version of the nature of things and of man's destiny. The accepted version evolves and the encyclopedias become outdated and have to be revised.

Since the prevailing tradition rests on the prevailing science, it follows that modern men must look to the company of scholars in the universities to guard and to preserve, to refine and enrich the tradition of civility. They have to revise the curricula of studies and the encyclopedias of knowledge.

This does not mean, of course, that the scientists and the scholars are to be regarded, much less are to regard themselves, as a mysterious elite of the initiated who can lay down the law of right and wrong, of good and evil, in human affairs. It does mean that insofar as religion, government, art and personal living assume or imply that this or that is true or false, they are subject to the criticism and judgment of the company of scholars. The prevailing and accepted science of the time is the root from which grow the creations of poets and artists, of saints and prophets and heroes. The science of an age is the material with which inspiration and genius create.

I am more than a little concerned as I proceed, that you will think that I am erecting a very high tower on a very small base, that I am nominating the professors to carry too great a responsibility. All I can say is that the human condition in the modern age brings us to what I have been talking about. The dissolution of the ancestral order and the dethronement of usage and authority in modern society have left us dependent upon man's ability to understand and govern his own fate. Necessarily, therefore, we are in a high degree dependent upon the men whose lives are committed to the pursuit of truth.

The responsibility may be too great for the professors to carry. But somehow – since the responsibility must be met – we shall have to learn to find men who will tell us how to find the professors who can carry the responsibility. And if we are ever to find them, we must begin by realizing the need to find them. If they cannot be found, modern man is indeed adrift on a trackless sea.

So, I venture to proceed. There is still something more, still another great function which the universities and their scholars cannot neglect, indeed cannot escape.

For there is more to the task of learning than to discover more and more truths than have ever been known before. That something more, which may mark the difference between mediocrity and excellence, is the practice of a kind of alchemy, the creative function of transmuting knowledge into wisdom.

Wisdom, says the Oxford English Dictionary, is "the

COMING: *How education is being influenced by industrial technology – James Ridgeway*

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capacity of judging rightly in matters relating to life and conduct." It is "soundness of judgment in choice of means and ends." The development of the capacity of judging rightly is something different from, and in some ways much more than, the capacity to know the truth in any particular field of knowledge, or to have mastered the art of applying this knowledge to some desired end. The capacity to judge rightly in a choice of both means and ends cuts across the specialties and the technologies, and it is, I dare to say, the hallmark of a liberal, as distinguished from a utilitarian or vocational, education.

We may say, I think, that knowledge is made into wisdom when what is true about the nature of things is reshaped to the human scale and oriented to the human understanding, to human need and to human hope. As this is done, the findings of scientists and scholars are transformed into the humanities, and the materials for a liberal education begin to appear.

The universities, therefore, are not only the depositories of wisdom. They are also laboratories where alchemists work, whose function it is to transmute knowledge into human wisdom. If the scholars do this, insofar as they do this, they transcend the sterile controversies about the two cultures, the scientific and the humanistic, and they learn to transcend the intellectual puzzle about specialism and generalism. For knowledge transmuted into wisdom places the sciences and the humanities within one universe of discourse.

Usable Knowledge

Can it be done? There is no need to doubt that it can be done. The most revolutionary of all the intellectual achievements of the modern age has been man's increasing mastery of the art of discovery and invention. The reshaping and reorientation of knowledge, so that it is humanly accessible and viable, is the task of philosophers, of the master-minds in the special fields of learning, of the advanced students in the field of education, and of the great teachers themselves. It would be a feeble kind of defeatism to think that man, who is penetrating the secrets of matter and of life itself, is unable to make usable the knowledge he is able to acquire.

A liberal education is concerned with what Plato calls the "royal science," the science that needs to be possessed by the rulers of the state. The education of a prince who is destined to be the king has from time immemorial been the primary function of education. Now that we live in a time when, as Huey Long truly said, every man is a king, it is still the prime function of education to instruct and to train the future rulers of the state.

It cannot be said that there exists as yet an adequate royal science. It is the task of the scholars to invent and compile the royal science of the modern age, a science which can in some measure be absorbed by all who vote, and can educate the comparatively few who will actually govern.

The heart of this science will be a presentation of the history and the practice of judging rightly in a choice of means and ends. Such a body of wisdom must be composed and compiled and made communicable, if the supreme teaching function of the institutions of learning is to be successful. This is their necessary business if they are to be more than laboratories of research, institutes of technology and vocational centers for careers.

For they cannot neglect the highest function of education which is the education of the rulers of the state. Quite evidently, it is not easy to discover what should be taught to the future rulers of a modern state, how they are to be made to acquire that capacity of judging rightly, which is the essence of wisdom. We are only at the frontier of modern, democratic education, within sight of the promised land. Those who come after us will have to make, out of the accumulating knowledge of the specialists, a body of available and usable wisdom. The political scientists and the educators of the coming times will have to explore what is as yet a largely unknown continent – this royal science for our age. They will have to extract from the infinite complexity of knowledge what it is that the rulers of the state need to know.

Quite evidently, the ruler of a state, the President of the United States for example, cannot master all the branches of knowledge which bear on the decisions he must make. Yet he must have enough knowledge of a kind which will enable him to judge rightly whose judgment among the specialists he should decide to accept. He must learn the art, which is not described in the textbooks as yet, of listening to experts and seeing through them and around them. The educators of the future will have to extract from the whole body of nuclear science, for example, what it is that the President and the Congress and the leaders of public opinion need to know about nuclear science and the behavior of great powers when they are confronted, let us say, with a treaty prohibiting the testing of nuclear weapons. Out of these extracts from the body of knowledge, the educators must design the curriculum of our own royal science.

I have been meditating out loud about one central theme: that in the modern age, as the ancestral order of usage and authority dissolves, there exists a spiritual and intellectual vacuum of discipline and guidance which, in the last analysis, can be filled only by the universal company of scholars, supported and protected and encouraged by their universities.

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Sex and Students

by Robert Coles

"What is happening up there? Are they still debating how long women can stay in the dormitories as though the fate of the world rests on the outcome? Is the college paper filled with the same old words from the same old speeches: morality, integrity, decency, honor? I can hardly believe it sometimes. Last year that's all we had to talk about in the dining hall – whether the college would extend visiting hours for dates another hour, or even eliminate all social activities in our rooms because according to some of the officials we were becoming immoral and promiscuous. We would argue it out ourselves during the day, then hear one of the deans or psychiatrists talk at night – about how we needed 'control' and 'thoughtfulness' as well as 'passion,' and how it may take us a few more years to have all three of them, and so we must have 'patience' – the fourth virtue and always an important one to those in power.

"I don't know whether I'm ready to face that business, again: the pompous, self-righteous officials, noisy with worry about orgasms in young people, but discreetly silent when we are sent off to war to kill or be killed; full of reminders about how moral we must be, and responsible to others, not just ourselves, but without a word of concern about the immorality of the slums next door, or the dishonest intrigue we've practiced in the Caribbean or elsewhere. They go so very easily from our sexual habits to the broadest conclusions about our honor and our generation's character, but they don't welcome a look at their honor. A person's political views are private, they tell you; but our views on sex not only aren't private but are fair game for anybody's use – to call us every name in the book. If I wear a beard and a girl I love stays in my room all night and I sleep with her, I'm a beatnik and in a state of moral decline. If I shave and go to a whore house, buy stocks on the South African exchange that net me a large profit, and sign up for the CIA when I graduate from college, my behavior is unquestioned and my integrity assumed."

Sex and the College Student
by the Committee on the College Student of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry
(Atheneum; $4.50)

Yes, he is a civil rights worker in the South, facing continual danger, and thus under a strain, I had to think as I heard him talk with a former roommate of his. (I have condensed a repeatedly interrupted discussion.) His bitterness is not merely evident; it is defiantly inclusive. He is tired of hearing his morality questioned by older people whose hypocrisy can most charitably be seen as self-deceiving. He is against exploitation of any kind – racial, social and economic, or sexual. As he put it: "Segregation and the double standard in sex smack of the same abuse of people. Neither one bothers 'good, decent people' as much as the idea that college students are having sex, or demonstrating, or demanding a revision of courses, or a voice in who teaches them. We're immature and demanding they say. We'll grow up, they reassure themselves. What they mean by grow up is give up – to sell out, acquiesce and morally die."

His reply to his accusers is his continuing presence, his work at voter registration in the midst of their ruinous, long unprotested immorality. The longer we talked the more nervously aware I became of his unforgiving disenchantment with much of college life, both its intrusive disregard for his privacy and its stodgy refusal to keep pace with what is, let alone what ought to be. It was easier and more convenient for me to record his strenuous, moody disaffection than answer some of his charges. One of them was that in his college, located somewhere between Berkeley and Cambridge, the psychiatrists joined company with the deans to enforce an antique social code by offering two particularly galling contributions of their very own: the ability to obtain information from troubled and trusting students, then offer it shamelessly to administrative officials, and the surprisingly contagious talent of labeling "sick" or "immature" what is new, different or a challenge to the status quo.

A committee of psychiatrists has tried to confront some of the issues brought up, and to some extent caused by such young men. In this slim, well-organized volume they have avoided the wide-ranging encyclopedic temptations of the title in order to describe the biological and emotional aspects of sexual development and relate them specifically to the practices and policies a college may allow or forbid. They have done their self-limited job well, but I fear left undiscussed all too many issues.

There can be an impressive richness to

Now Out!

The May-June issue of

DISSENT

Articles by:

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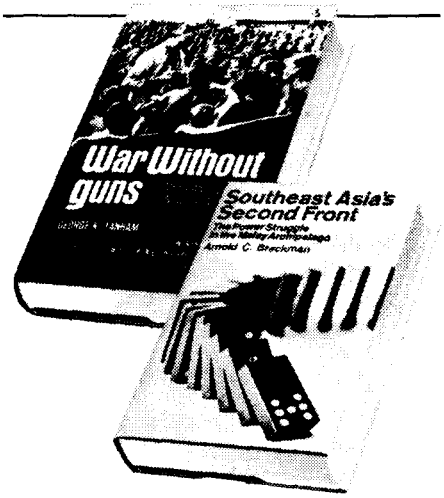

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psychoanalytic observations. Relying heavily on the different but complementary work of Anna Freud and Erik Erikson this book provides a subtle and necessary summary of the complicated, highly variable nature of man's sexual development. The authors have a valuable and not altogether common willingness to acknowledge the uncertainties and boundaries of their professional knowledge. What they know best they say most clearly: the college student's sexual life is but another phase in a progressive development of emotional and sexual feelings, the two being rather thoroughly entwined. Consequently, a youth's uncertain sexuality does not struggle for definition without affecting the rest of his life. He is likely to demonstrate highly fluctuating attitudes toward his contemporaries and elders as well as toward sex, so that what is done may not yet be fully enjoyed and what is said or even assertively proclaimed may not necessarily be quite wanted, "deep down."

Against such a background (some of it spelled out in an appendix) the authors get down to brass tacks. During their study they found no institution that "published or printed materials that explicitly stated its views toward sexual conduct on the campus." The American student everywhere must deal with lack of candor and evasiveness, with rules all too full of rhetoric, pretentious and fake piety, double talk, innuendo and the kind of picayunish, captious mind that in one college handbook defined a date as "being in the presence of a boy for fifteen minutes." Here is some more from other colleges: "coeducation while sunbathing is not permitted"; not only that, but "for every minute that a student is late she will come in five minues early on the Saturday following her infraction." As the authors explain, with effectively subdued embarrassment, such rules are "almost mandatory in state universities" because parents are voters and have "power to influence the operation of the university."

Under those conditions the sexual issues that commonly face college authorities are hardly likely to receive sensible or fair consideration. This book has been written to advocate that kind of civilized consideration, and it concludes with "guidelines" aimed at "preferable if not ideal" administrative attitudes. The doctors say that a student's privacy should be established, but not overdone. (Some students are not ready for it and would genuinely fear the possibilities it enables or provokes.) As for sex: when "privately practiced with appropriate attention to the sensitivities of other people [it] should not be the direct concern of the administration." (The problem is, however, that there are some "other people" whose sensitivities seem limitless, among them the college administrators themselves.)

The authors discuss difficult problems like contraception, pregnancy, abortion, homosexuality and sex education and then end the book by taking on the thorny job of furnishing advice on those subjects. Cautiously – and clearly on guard against those who would misunderstand or abuse their words – they seem to favor making contraceptive information available to students; advising and counselling them on pregnancy and abortion rather than preaching to them or invoking outmoded or inhumane laws upon them; looking at homosexuality as an inevitable, though passing problem in most youths, and in any event not one solved by anxious or hysterical prurience or vengeance: and, finally, offering sex education because it is useful, but not because it will solve problems that are developmental and emotional, hence resistant to the persuasions of logic and fact.

How is one to judge this book? It possesses a consistent, edifying good sense. Thankfully absent is the heavy-

In the May-June issue of

DISSENT

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handed, disease-centered approach that some psychiatrists cannot resist applying to everyone and everything. The writing generally comes across as plain and straightforward, though there are lapses when the worried authors are obviously looking over their shoulders. Since they are college psychiatrists, it can be assumed that they know their opponents, some probably unappeased even by the following tactful prose: "A certain amount of freedom in the area of student social and sexual interaction with the opposite sex is now taken for granted within limits of personal integrity and public decency." Again, private homosexuality "need not become" the administration's concern. The authors urge "counseling rather than discipline." Freud, who did not deny himself the responsibility of moral indignation, but also failed to achieve any great success in the Viennese academic and medical world, wrote as follows: "It is a great injustice to persecute homosexuality as a crime—and a cruelty, too."

The book gingerly skirts problems very much related to its concern: those of censorship, civil rights and civil liberties, the relationship of class structure to sexual practices and norms, the complicated and at times impossible position of psychiatrists as doctors in danger of becoming negotiators, informers, or practitioners of a kind of military psychiatry. Though the authors have alluded to some of these matters, the unrest in some of our colleges may inevitably require another level of analysis: more sharply critical, more bluntly worded, perhaps less welcome to some people; and for those reasons more decisive.

Black Artist, Black Prophet

by Faith Berry

Into our now-the-story-of-the-Negro-can-be-told period come some new and added versions from LeRoi Jones; twenty-four pieces of social criticism about America the *un*beautiful: *Home*. "These essays," he begins, "are placed chronologically (1960-1965) to show just how my mind and my place in America have changed. . . . By the time this book appears I will be even blacker. . . ."

Home
Social Essays
by LeRoi Jones
(Morrow; $4.50)

The earlier pieces, 1960-1962, essentially research-reporting with some previews of coming attractions, show him on the scene, in the thick, moving, south of the border to Greenwich Village: giving accounts of a Cuban trip, Harlem's history, its restaurants, its street protests, a letter bawling out Jules Feiffer, and a speech on "Myth of a Negro Literature."

By 1963, he's behind the scene more than he's on it; the reporting tone stops and the commenting begins, some of it on the civil rights movement, most of it on literature. The "Myth of a Negro Literature" changes to "Black Writing."

By 1964 he's in his own world. We get from here on in pieces like "Last Day of the American Empire (Including some Instructions for Black People)," "The Revolutionary Theatre," "Blackhope" and finally the book's last essay, "The Legacy of Malcolm X, and the Coming of the Black Nation." He has by this time moved from reporter to commentator to prophet and we are reading a state of mind.

When appearing on the David Susskind show in January of this year, he stated in essence that he had no special interest in the civil rights movement, or what whites and Negroes did together; that he was more interested in discourse between black men. And it's this interest the later essays show; an integrated readership was not the main purpose in writing them.

Little of his personal life is mentioned in the book, but the little that is, added to the blurbs that have appeared elsewhere in the past, tell part of the story of what he was trying to do during the five years the book covers: to break away from the image he thought he

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was a part of, "the middle-class chump," the Ivy Leaguer, "the new Negro," "the Negro writer"; to abandon the poetry workshop and Greenwich Village and make it Harlem; to gather what allies he could for the beginning of Blackhope, Black Writing, and The Black Arts Repertory Theatre.

And the reasons are repeated in one way or another, from beginning to end in the chronology of these essays, a few of them stressing ideas he's already mentioned in *Blues People:* the belief that "Negro culture" in America except for blues and jazz has been assassinated; that Negro literature has never moved to create its own myths and symbols, but to imitate, to protest, or to commercialize; the anxiety over having to lose dissent in order to enter mainstream America; that non-violence is encouraged to protect certain economic interests; that American Negroes have been converted to help kill non-white peoples in Africa, Asia, and Latin America; that the whole of western civilization is dying, and when it dies, American Negroes will die with it – at the same time for the same reasons.

The reflection that most Negroes might be on the way to becoming "white" is one Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* had twenty years ago; he comforted himself by staying in his hole in the ground. Jones has another idea: the founding of a Black Nation, one he's "calling for" in Harlem as Director of The Black Arts Repertory Theatre. This venture – from descriptions throughout the book on the values he believes Negroes are losing – is to be an environment where a complete "Black experience" can take place. This is to include such characteristic traditions as eating "soul food" (to which he devotes a full essay), music such as the late Billie Holiday singing "Gimme a Pigfoot" (which Black poets should listen to for self-understanding instead of reading so much European literature), other musicians who "tell it like it is"; and where Black Writing that includes very little of what's been published (except Chester Himes) can be written. Special emphasis is to be given to art, religion, politics and education; all white politicians eliminated, a nationalization of all white businesses within the boundaries of Harlem, and The Revolutionary Theatre putting on plays like *The Destruction of America.* The Black Nation is to be ushered in by some of the measures he denounces in "The White Nation": an elimination of all not in its own interests, political grabbing, and a cultural life partly based on dramatizing destruction.

The book will likely give Mr. Jones the titles of racist, demagogue, and exhibitionist that he gained from *The Toilet, Dutchman,* and *The Slave. Home* is not racism; it's race pride that has gone too far in one direction. And what might be termed culture resistance with a capital "C" – the kind of resistance that doesn't allow him to eat his dinner, listen to his records, or read his books without wondering where in each one the "Black experience" lies; and where each bite he takes, each tone he hears, and each word he reads fits into his historical time and place. He must suffer each morning as he stands before the mirror brushing his teeth – not because toothpaste is white, but because it's no doubt one of the items from The Special Products Division of Madison Avenue, like *Ipana* or *Listerine.*

The book, if it's to be thought anti-white, can't be called altogether so pro-Negro either. In the end, he stops using this word ("Negro") partly because it's an adjective (somebody should have put a stop to it a long time ago), and because he considers "Negroes" as "strait-jacketed lazy clowns whose only joy is carrying out the white man's will." Race doesn't count if you see part of the world as Jones does. Joyce, Sartre, Burroughs and Allen Ginsberg

In the May-June issue of

DISSENT

BOGALUSA

What happens in a Southern town when an "enlightened" Northern corporation, a militant civil rights movement and a sleepy administration clash head-on. A fine piece of reporting by Vera Roney.

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come out higher on the scoreboard than Phillis Wheatley, Arna Bontemps, Langston Hughes and James Baldwin. But Feiffer, Harrington and *The Village Voice* get pounced. And since he makes a distinction between "Negroes" and Black People, Martin Luther King is a loser, but the late W. E. B. DuBois is a champion; an educator like Booker T. Washington gets the image of an Uncle Tom, but another one like E. Franklin Frazier is heroic. The Jones heroes are usually dissenters, some of whom have been called extremists, Communists, Black Nationalists and revolutionists.

The book is a refusal of American foreign and domestic policy on most issues. It rejects the civil rights movement and the right to register and to vote, on the judgment there's not much worth voting for and both political parties are the same; likewise the fight for education and employment, on the premise the struggle is not worth what comes with it. Otherwise, on hopes for home, he has none. He disregards the idea of the New World or "the free world," as such, and takes on allegiance to the part of the globe the French call *Tiers Monde:* Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

What may be said about this book is that it is more a part of home than it may seem. It belongs, in its way, on American bookshelves next to some essays like William Harper's, Thomas R. Dew's, James Hammond's and George Fitzhugh's – a few men as convinced about the way affairs should have gone in their era as LeRoi Jones is in his. Its visions also of a Black Nation take on some visions Jefferson, Monroe, Madison, Marshall, and Clay had with The American Colonization Society – though theirs, alas, were to try and get all Black Nations off American shores.

Home sets out in its own way to tell part of this story, but finally, in the end, what it does is to parody itself, and it fails.

But it succeeds in part, in doing what it most wanted to do; to have "Black Writing" tell some of what LeRoi Jones believes has been left untold – and in the terms he thinks it should tell it.

He notes midway through the book in a piece called *LeRoi Jones Talking*, that "something else I aspire to is the craziness of all honest men." In certain passages, before his own beliefs overtake him, he fulfills it, not only with the craziness of his own honesty, but with moments of truth.

RECORDS

Verdi's "Don Carlo"

One of the year's major events is the new London recording of Verdi's *Don Carlo*, first because of the greatness of the work, and then because no entirely adequate performance has been available on records until this one. Like almost every work of Verdi it is flawed by pages that are embarrassing to hear – the climax of the Carlo-Rodrigo duet, the usually omitted *marziale* passage that London unwisely restores to the final Carlo-Elisabeth duet. But it is one thing to recognize these and another to disparage other superb pages, as Ernest Newman did, and to contend that the work is "like a sketch for something Verdi was to do better in *Aida* or *Otello*." The more one reads Newman on particular pieces of music the clearer it becomes that he was far more stupidly unperceptive about them than the critic Hanslick whom he denounced for this deficiency. And certainly in the case of *Don Carlo* anyone with the ears Newman lacked will recognize in it some of the most marvelous achievements of Verdi's matured powers: not only the scene with Philip's soliloquy, his interview with the Grand Inquisitor, the quartet, Eboli's confession to Elisabeth, and her "*O don fatale*"; not only Elisabeth's "*Tu che le vanità*," with a melodic grandeur that is heard

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Robert Coles *is a psychiatrist who writes on social psychology.* Faith Berry *is an American journalist living in Paris.*

In the May-June issue of

DISSENT

GOING BACK SOUTH

A new and gifted Negro writer, Calvin Hernton, describes the annual pilgrimage which Southern-born Negroes make each year from their Northern homes to the towns of their birth. An important piece of American reportage.

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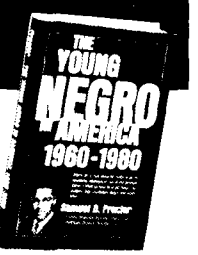
nowhere else in Verdi; but the second-act duets of Carlo and Elisabeth, then of Philip and Rodrigo, which have some of the most accomplished, incandescent and affecting writing of the kind one hears in *Otello* – flexible and free-ranging in its vocal phraseology, imaginatively resourceful in its supporting orchestral invention. And as against the previously available Deutsche Grammophon performance, with fine singing by Labo and Bastianini, but unpleasant-sounding singing by Stella and Christoff, the new performance superbly conducted by Solti on London A-4432 and OSA-1432 has excellent singing by all the principals: Tebaldi, Bumbry, Bergonzi, Fischer-Dieskau, Ghiaurov and Talvela.

One reads always about Melba and Tetrazzini, almost never about Frieda Hempel, who not only had a voice as lovely and a technique as spectacular as theirs but was a far greater musician than they. I have still to hear the equal of her sustained phrasing in the concluding section of *"Dite alla giovine"* from *La Traviata*, of her delivery of *"Qui la voce"* from *I Puritani* and *"Deh vieni"* from *Figaro*. Victor has yet to reissue these; but a number of the marvelous performances she recorded for HMV are on imported Odeon COLH-135 and E-83,397 (mono). Both records have the arias from *Les Huguenots* and *Robert le Diable* and Mendelssohn's *Auf Fluegeln des Gesanges*; but the truer sound of the voice on 83,397 makes it preferable to COLH-135, even though the latter has arias from *The Magic Flute, The Seraglio, La Traviata* and *Ernani* as against the former's *Lakmé, La Perle du Brésil* and *La Muette du Portici*.

The early songs of Brahms – from Opp. 3, 6, 7, 19 – and a few from Op. 32, on Angel 36316 (mono), are unpretentious and attractive; but I care less for the more elaborate writing in others of Op. 32. Fischer-Dieskau sings them beautifully with Gerald Moore.

The more familiar Brahms is heard in the Symphony No. 2, of which the gifted young conductor Kertesz conducts an excellent performance with the Vienna Philharmonic on London CM-9435 and CS-6435 (regrettably he repeats the exposition in the first movement). I prefer the mono sound, with its more compact and clearly defined bass; but must report some blanketing

Is there a future for Negro youth?



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FRANTZ FANON

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Frantz Fanon, the Algerian political writer, has gained a reputation in left-wing circles as theorist of revolution in underdeveloped countries. This reputation is subjected to a searching criticism by Lewis Coser.

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For those interested in von Karajan and the Berlin Philharmonic, Deutsche Grammophon 39-001 and 139-001 offer a well-paced and beautifully played Schubert Unfinished Symphony which is reproduced with more solidity by the mono record. The reverse sides have performances of Beethoven's *Fidelio* and *Leonore No. 3* Overtures that lack the dramatic urgency and tension they should have, and a ponderously slow *Coriolan* Overture in place of the one indicated by Beethoven's marking, Allegro con brio.

Hearing Mahler's Symphony No. 7 again has confirmed my recollection of it as a mostly unattractive work; but for those who find more in it than I do, I report what seems to be an effective performance by Abravanel with the Utah Symphony on Vanguard VRS-1141-2 and VSD-71141-2.

A new recording of Mozart's Divertimento K.563 for string trio on Nonesuch 1102 and 71102 has the Trio à Cordes playing with musical sensitiveness equal to the Pasquier Trio's on Musical Heritage 623, and with more beautiful tone. The solider cello sound from the stereo record results in better ensemble balance.

The Vienna Philharmonic Quartet's playing in Schubert's Quintet Op. 163, on London CM-9441 (mono), is excellent except for the insufficiently powerful tone of the first violin in the big moments. And in the faster tempo of this performance the Trio of the Scherzo loses much of the extraordinary effect it has in the right Andante sostenuto tempo. The Stern-Schneider-Katims-Casals-Tortelier performance on Columbia is still the one to acquire.

The Koeckert Quartet's excellent performance of Schubert's *Death and the Maiden* Quartet is reproduced well by low-priced Heliodor H-25003 (mono; avoid the pseudo-stereo version), as it was not by the Decca record years ago.

Ashkenazy offers his sensitively phrased and ear-ravishing playing in beautifully shaped and completely achieved performances of Chopin's Scherzo No. 4 and Nocturne Op. 62 No. 1 and Debussy's *L'Isle Joyeuse* on London CM-9472 (mono). The reverse side has Ravel's *Gaspard de la Nuit*.

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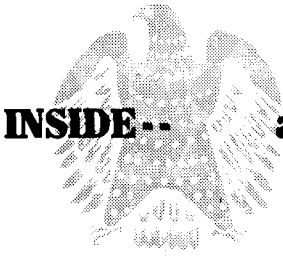
Igor Kipnis plays on Epic LC-3911 (mono) includes some – the Toccatas by Alessandro Scarlatti and Rossi – which was written to exploit and display the resources and splendors of the instrument and does so impressively in the performances to which Kipnis gives unfailing coherence of shape. And it includes lovely quiet pieces like Cimarosa's Sonatas Nos. 29 and 23 and the opening sections of Frescobaldi's *Balleto Terzo* and Galuppi's Sonata No. 4, which Kipnis plays with sensitiveness and melodic continuity on his fine-sounding instrument.

Bach seems to have enjoyed the exercise of his technical skill in the way athletes enjoy exercising their skill in diving or tennis. Every one of the works he produced in the process of solving the problems he set himself was of course interesting to him in this way, as to some listeners today. But others today distinguish between the works that are interesting only as solutions of their technical problems, and those that are in addition interesting and moving when listened to as pieces of music. I would say the first category includes *The Musical Offering* except for its superb concluding 6-voice Ricercare; and the second category includes most of *The Art of Fugue*. This was written with no specifications for performance, and has been performed by everything from string quartet to symphony orchestra. Nothing but string sonorities can become monotonous; and so it is better to hear a performance by a small group of strings and winds, like the one drawn from Viennese orchestras that Scherchen conducts on Westminster XWN-2237 and WST-237, or the London Philomusica that George Malcolm conducts on Argo 421-2 and 5421-2. But some of Malcolm's tempos are ineffectively slow; and Scherchen indulges in his usual eccentricities of pacing; therefore I still prefer Walcha's well-paced performance on the organ, heard two or three fugues at a time.

B. H. HAGGIN



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How Things Are at Random House

Sirs:

In the May 14 issue of *The New Republic*, you printed an article called "Publishing's Unagonizing Reappraisal" by David Dempsey. In the course of the article, Mr. Dempsey made three statements concerning Random House. All three of them were incorrect.

Statement Number One by Mr. Dempsey was that "Knopf bought Pantheon, Random House then took over Knopf, and then RCA acquired Random." The fact is that Knopf joined Random House on May 17, 1960, and that it was Random House – not Knopf – that

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bought Pantheon on June 22, 1961, some thirteen months later.

Statement Number Two by Mr. Dempsey was that I "had advised Truman Capote to ask for a quarter of a million dollars for the paperback rights of *In Cold Blood*, but that Truman Capote then demanded – and got – half a million dollars." There is not one word of truth in this statement. Mr. Capote left these negotiations entirely in my hands. The half-million-dollar figure is exactly what I asked for in the first place, and exactly what NAL paid Random House when the deal was consummated. Personally, I believe this was a very fair deal all the way around.

Statement Number Three by Mr. Dempsey was that "RCA probably doesn't *know* what Random's subsidiary, Pantheon, is publishing, and they may not realize they own it." The fact of the matter is that the RCA-Random House deal will not even be consummated until May 19, and it should hardly be necessary to say that before the deal was arranged, the RCA people studied the assets and liabilities of Random House with utmost thoroughness. A statement like this by Mr. Dempsey sounds more like the irresponsible babbling of a malicious gossip columnist than a man who is doing a supposedly factual piece for a publication as good as *The New Republic*. These are exciting days in the publishing business, and I am pleased to note that *The New Republic* is interested in giving its readers an idea of what's going on in the world of books. In the future, however, I hope you will pick as your spokesman a journalist who has sufficient respect for his craft to check his facts before allowing his findings to be put into print.

Bennett Cerf
New York, N.Y.

In reply . . .

Statement Number One: Mr. Cerf is right about the dates involved, and I stand corrected.

Statement Number Two: Whether Mr. Cerf or Truman Capote thought up the half-million dollars is not as important as the fact that this is probably a record-breaking sum for reprint rights, and that publishing, in its current euphoria, can sustain a deal of this magnitude. I have no doubt that it is very fair all around.

Statement Number Three: As a humorist, Mr. Cerf should know a joke when he sees one. However, I regret, that in missing the joke, he has seen fit to interject a note of personal distaste.

I would like to make one further point about Random House as it illustrates the upward mobility of publishers into the world of the big corporation. When the proposed merger with RCA was first announced, Random House stock was selling at around $15 a share. It very quickly doubled, on the basis of the then current price of RCA shares, thus losing its financial identity as a *publishing* stock, and achieving a new evaluation as an electronics issue. I hope the company will not lose its literary identity as well.

David Dempsey
New York, N.Y.

Faulkner Foundation

Sirs:

I should like to inform Mr. John Wain, author of *Wildtrack* and a recent review (May 14) of Reynolds Price, that the William Faulkner Foundation ("whatever that may be") was established by Faulkner ("the old gasbag") to further the education of young Americans with college scholarships and to encourage young American writers with an award, an annual recognition of an outstanding American first novel. Its recipients have included Thomas Pynchon's *V.* and Charles Simmons' *Powdered Eggs*, books which Mr. Wain ought to read to assuage his fears that the American novel (as well as the dream of the Great American Novel) is dead. . . .

R. H. W. Dillard
Member, Novel Award Committee
William Faulkner Foundation

Vietnam's Twelve Elections

Sirs:

An editing error in my article, "Vietnam's Twelve Elections" (May 14), on the last line in the left-hand column, changed the original "eleventh time" into a "twelfth." As the last paragraph of my article shows, the "twelfth" election would be a hypothetical one, to be held in the future. For those who might be interested in an actual count of

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1. January 1946: nationwide legislative
2. April 1949: Cochinchina Territorial Assembly
3. January 1953: nationwide municipal (also June)
4. October 1953: nationwide provincial
5. October 1955: referendum on republic
6. March 1956: nationwide legislative
7. August 1959: nationwide legislative
8. April 1961: nationwide presidential
9. October 1963: nationwide legislative
10. May 1965: nationwide local and provincial
11. Autumn 1966: nationwide legislative (planned)

Bernard B. Fall
Washington, D. C.

Vietnam: The Other Hand

Sirs:

In Vietnam we have total air superiority, total weaponry superiority, total transport superiority, total sea-power superiority, total communications superiority, total logistics superiority, total superiority of every kind except the loyalty and support of the Vietnamese people. But yet our war-hawks are still saying, "We can't win a war with one hand tied behind us. Let's win or get out." I think they're right. Let's get out before we use "the other hand."

Reynolds Moody
Lt. Col. USMC (Ret.)
Miami, Florida

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—When Robert Kennedy was told that Norman Mailer best understands him, Kennedy replied, "Mailer sees the part of me that is still a juvenile delinquent." . . . Jules Feiffer says that the men in his cartoon strips reflect Presidential administrations. "During Ike's time they were ineffectual. During JFK's they were make-out artists. During LBJ's they lie more." . . . Bob Dylan's mother recently sent him a postcard: "How many letters must a mother send before she gets an answer?" . . . Dan Greenburg denies that his new book, "How to be Miserable," was originally titled "Son of Jewish Mother."

—Here's the tentative line-up for the film version of Truman Capote's "In Cold Blood": Paul Newman as Richard Eugene Hickock; Steve McQueen as Perry Smith; Henry Fonda as Herbert W. Clutter; Lee Marvin as Al Dewey, the detective. **Capote, quoted in Life Magazine, January 1:** "I taught myself to be my own tape recorder . . . Finally, when I got to about 97 percent accurate, I felt ready to take on this book." **Capote, quoted in The New York Times, January 16:** ". . . within 95 percent of absolute accuracy, which is as close as you need." **Capote, quoted in Newsweek, January 24:** "Now I can remember 90 percent, and who cares about the other 10 percent?"

—The F.B.I. report of Dec. 9, 1963, on JFK's assassination has just been declassified. It is not consistent with the Warren Commission Report on what happened to the bullets fired at the President. . . . Norman Podhoretz: "Book reviewing has become the prerogative of the young on the make" . . . Adolph Eichmann, as quoted in Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.'s "Mother Night": "Is it absolutely necessary to have a literary agent?" . . . See several *avant garde* plays in a Greenwich Village church and you'll agree that not only God is dead, she is turning over in her grave . . . Several letters received by Ralph Ginzburg, the Eros publisher, suggested that "Chrysler is open to conviction. I see where they are advertising a photo of a girl, close up, in which she promise to have ..... with the man who drives a Chrysler: 'Don, I might . . . if you drove a Chrysler'." . . . Timothy Leary: "I'm in trouble because I know too much."

—The New York Times twice reviewed on its daily book page John Moore's "The Waters Under the Earth." Last year Orville Prescott called it "the finest novel I have read in five years." Last month Nancy K. MacKenzie called it "no different from hundreds of other forgettable Victorian novels of English country life." . . . A major book publisher turned down Ralph Nader's "Unsafe at any Speed" because its appeal "was limited to auto insurance salesmen."

—Just added to the White House library: "Misery," Suzanne Heller's best seller . . . "The Medium Is the Massage: An Inventory of Effects" has been written by Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Flore for fast-publishing and distribution this summer by Bantam Books, 271 Madison Ave., NYC . . . Julie Christie bites her nails . . . Sir Laurence Olivier says he's been most influenced by Robert Ardrey's "African Genesis." . . . A publisher of demonology may establish Dybbuk of the Month Club.

—You can be sure that the Harper's magazine reviewer of Peter Matthiessen's new novel isn't at play in the fields of the lord. After Harper's had received many complaints, the reviewer confessed that he had not read the complete book . . . Peanuts' creator, Charles Schulz, writes: "I used to wonder why Jesus did not deal more humorously with situations. Now I think perhaps he did. It isn't possible for a humorless person to be so attractive to people. Jesus was invited to meals by outsiders—he must have been fun to be around, interesting. . . ."

—Tom Wolfe: "The New York literary community can be written off. It's only interested in power and violence. They're all trying to relive Hemingway." . . . Michael Davie of the London Observer: "President Johnson comes into a room slowly and warily, as if he means to smell out the allegiance of everyone in it . . . There is a faint air of a mobster . . . He is one of the most fascinating human beings ever to become President of the United States."

—Hugh J. Schonfield, the British scholar and author of "The Passover Plot," visits the U.S. this summer to discuss his theory that a drugged Christ planned to be rescued. . . . Jonathan Winters once suggested that maybe the best thing to do is to go to the church of your choice and wait . . . When she was Funny Girl, Barbra Streisand wore a microphone in her cleavage. The batteries were taped to her—well, to her Fanny Brice . . . Many women visit the publishing office of Stein & Day and look through a copy of "Advice from a Failure" for the part that tells how not to give bits and pieces of yourself away. . . . Allen Ginsberg says, "When Andy Warhol looks at a Camp-bell's Soup can, he is preoccupied with God." . . . Buckminster Fuller: "Banks urge 30-year mortgages, yet most people, according to the latest census, move within four years. In two more national elections, not enough citizens will have residence qualifications. Students want world peace, but their politicians can't help. The politician is biased. He looks out for only his side, not for

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By JEROME AGEL
Editor-Publisher

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